

C/A
Distinguished? Secret - ^{"classified"} ^{e.g. presence of mass in US ships} ^{or info: handled secretly, as "secret"} unknown, unquestioned / unpermitted,
subject to no attention or discussion
(US not to affirm values)

Count from Denial - controversial, in face of evidence,
collegial / challenged, but...
more, or less, plausibly

e.g. US participation, role, control

or US aims, intent, plans, ; origins / context (to what US is
"responding")

In a non-specified context, what is high about, or kept
secret, are those conditions that define circumstances
as justifying US violence, ^{or terrorism,} or apparent law-breaking,
or not.

I made a promise, which I broke - because it
involved breaking other promises, ^{obligations} which seem to me
more important

Ex-CIA officials like Colby, Tower, Polgar must be
assured, in absence of evidence otherwise, to maintain
this earlier promises, which I now stand, which
led them to make that promise (which, I now think,
they should not have been asked to make, and should

not keep, in a democracy.

Have the ^{been} ever - are they now ready to enlarge
our knowledge of past USG deception or crimes?

If not, it is not because they don't know any to add.

It is presumably because they feel they should not -
in most cases, simply because they have been told
not to, "by competent authority," which they accept.

& no longer accept the legitimacy of
orders to lie to or to prevent from the public.

[or, in fact, to kill]

[esp. innocent people]

Count ops (exposed) contradict, not, really, who we
are, our character (Ball) but our self-image, ^{how} ~~what~~ we
want to be seen, and to be ...

(We have not been that, in Central America, ^{+ Civil} for over a
^(Phil: 88 yrs) ^{+ CA} century; or in TW since 1945.) But it is a good aspiration;
and a good rep, which we have lost, but could regain.
'of being different from SU

Challenger ("good" "count" veterans):

Study 1948 (LAT)

Philippines 1948-52

Congo (Colby)

Afghanistan [what does MHN say about disadvantage of debating
this openly?]
Angola

Mozambique

[FMLN?]

But: quotes

Kennan

DeLoach

mistake, vs. crime

(Angola?)

Intervention in a civil war, or against an illegal invasion (Afghan) is legal, and can be debated & decided openly.

Support of terrorism cannot be legitimized by debate or Cong. vote;

nor can illegal invasion, or aggression

(including externally-organized and directed and wholly-subsidized "misadventure")

- NIC IS BOTH - IT IS OUTRAGEOUS THAT THIS WAR IS BEING VOTED ON IN CONGRESS (IE. THAT IT HAS ANY SUPPORT AMONG MEMBERS) OR THAT ANYONE COULD THINK THAT A VOTE COULD LEGITIMIZE IT.

(In contrast to Afghan, Philo, perhaps Angola...)

SVN - like Nic.

[In SVN, support was expressed from NVN (let alone SU) but real management: but, was NVN "external"?

(out from point of view of VNese, N or S?)

Nor was NVN a "Soviet surrogate, as Cochran says of Sandinista!

Not true of countries of Central America.

(Harkins)

or Russia

Are there things the Soviets do abroad that we should not, must not? (or is that just, "usefulness" (Harkins, China).

(China: to try to be "different from Russia" is to "sunder." maintains a standard that sets us apart from...

Heresi: Unless using force [Civil, parail, assass.] to intervene
in another nation's affairs is a demonstrable act of
self-defence*, then is no excuse for it." Napier 47 9/84
And there is certainly no legal reason for it to be covert.

Reason for coventness - to circumvent public debate on
legitimacy. When the USG feels an intervention is in the
national interest (as they see it), but ~~whether~~ ^{whether}
its legitimacy (or wisdom, necessity) would be highly
controversial, or would be rejected [or accepted only at
a political cost - e.g. cost of Grenada for in 1965!
or of arms control agreements?...

Then USG does it covertly - i.e. undemocratically
(not as a matter of conscious delegation of public!)

* Here origins of the use of force are important?

Who initiated use of force?

If civil war, or CI, or repression:

What sort of gov, of democracy, of civil rights?

Congress' judgment of legality/legitimacy cannot be
accepted, after June? 1986 (100M to centres)...

25-27

31-33

35-39

+166

182-179

(esp. 174-179)

FOACA (ARDIS)

DWMKE:

Write like for Thomas,
"What we did - on
getting out." - Why we
didn't do more, earlier. BUT

Then: What we could
- and should have
done, at various
points "!"

(Me: Plans; Jackie Melf;

RT. Don Rupp; July 28; Budel

Rhett, Marmishals,
Stockwell,

Bee
Laurens, CIA
~~Laurens~~, Elena Marie
Willson

Willis Eveland CIA

(resigned over
Lumbar slaying)

O CIA

Ager

James B Wilcott CIA

Vern Lion (real spy)

Clements

Karen Winn CIA wife

(May Friedman)

(WHY NOT MEDIA
WORK FOR CIA?

WHO DECIDES?
DO THEY NOT?)

(Imp. of NSC-68:
Fascist state

(non-racist;
^{imperialist}
but, colonialist

(= Staff, minus ~~German~~
pressure.

Spain?)

20 Nov 87

Va. MHN:

USG's policies would
be just as wrong,
reckless, if they were
open, legal, had
majority support

[~~if they~~ as they
might get, if USG
pursued the openly
and "admitted" policies
for the & for a while
to get Cong. support for
Premier Helf having, if he
involved War Powers act?

Problem now:

(new?)

Reform of a crypto-fascist state
pretending to be a
democracy —

2) Avoid "dropping
the mask," the

green-democratic
principle

elusive;

6) Rebuild democracy

[de-Nazification; without

a total defeat
or an occupation]

Like Bartholomew's
task - he does it from
top -

like disintegrating,
MTB^{G?} = SU...

and in East Germany
(Solidarity; Hungary...)
Poles in East Germany...

Our tasks are more similar
than might appear!

20 Nov 87

What lessons have we
learned from ICG?

- Media: focus on
personal habits/character
of candidates?

Hunt should have
been disqualified for his
attitude on Cong restriction
on testing!

See Dole on assassination
~~of~~ Ortega, or on 3-dy
war!

- or in 1970, on "mugging"
1.2 "

- What Cagney/public
learned from VN:

Bohner Accident!

which made R's
secret war in Vie
illegal in domestic
times -

which made it
undable, just as N's
criminal efforts to keep
his plans secret (not
the war, secret, like ~~the~~
R/Vie) made his subject
to indulgence.

20 Nov 87

I was asked: Wf did North
go different from you?

What North learned
from VN:

like Man affairs
after WWII, he believed
war had been lost by
a stroke in the back -
that made him a
fascist.

And, born in 1944,
he missed anti-Nazi
movies that I ^{also} grew up on
(before my anti-Com
socialization). But in Black
Korea. Com. 11.

learned to
North had not recognized
the attitudes he expressed
on TV as those of the
good ~~man~~ and the
running criminals.
(Running Defense).

(USG's we def for
ICG, Rio, testing,
~~the~~ Torture... support
of fascists CONTRAS NOT
"FOUNDING FATHERS"
I learned to be anti-Nazi
Prioblet; Sonoma; Argentina;
M... .. South

Running Actions

We are not worth more.

Torture [Hartung, Wylie]
MHN - "Abolish Cant
action - for reasons
of abolish torture."

[Give Ray a Train
to clean Tracks with,
and they will abuse it:
MELIAN DOCTRINE
"The poor + weak must be
realistic, rational, prudent -
GIVE IN, BACK DOWN, JUMP OFF

20 Nov 87

No war was ever
ended like VN (?)

and no war has
ever been ended as

this may be ending:

- Exposure of & the
criminal violation of
domestic laws restraining
on ongoing war; firings.
- Cong. cut-off
- Regional coup by semi-
tribunal committee (Wanted)

(Best possible
celebration of Const.
is 200th year!

Would be improved
and of - Independent
- Abolition of
Court ops

- End of wars
against national "liberty"
(new nationalism)

- End of secret
nuclear threats

3 Dec 87

I have long been

preoccupied with the question
"How could men have committed one
massacre not genocide?"

~~to prevent, or resist.~~

But I look at it from

a special perspective

(that of my military,

and a few civilians):

I have planned + prepared
+ threatened
genocide ^{me} (retal.) (+ RT)
+ FUI in Europe
and ~~in progress~~ parties.

in implementing RT...

"How could I?"

see 1TT, 28

Oct 87 in

Angela

LIC

How does it relate
to "CI"?

It includes (right-
wing) US-based "I"!
Imagery!

(v Immersion) Death Squads

Still CR — but
(like CTs, Phoenix,
RCD...) "using the
tactics of the guerrillas"
(as CI was supposed
to do, said Helms).

Confusion of tactics +
essence: left / right + inst.

- Crime Framework

If S.B. is not a
war crime, what is?
and why?

If S.B. is not
prosecutable, why
should any war crime
be prosecuted?

(Inductive...)

Is it morally condemnable
or "Lesser Evil" - we def.
Then, is war, then are no

restricts on scale
of violence or targets
(at most, on manner of
killing - e.g. burn burn)
(see napalm, CBUs)

- That's why ~~the~~ Congress
must declare war,
initiating this.

7 Jan 88

~~Sharon Feinman~~

for Hushaby

sy base on security & foreign policy

26-27 Feb

Shirley Bal

Sam Powers

VN: CI + For Policy

ma, Stockholm, Hugh Towner (CofS) (Laos)

Colby, Jan Polgar (VN/72-75)

Chief of Contact Action

late '60's

Shackley

DE, Betts, Jan Hunter (now ISA)

Phoenix (AF)

C. Fitch Prouty

Douglas Blanford - re Phoenix

(data unit work with Jan Hunter
on CI)

How did VN affect attitudes toward
Count Action - and still professionals

Powers: on Count Action

Stall, CA and For Policy

For 50's as precursor of '80's ?

Blanche Wisconsin

Freemont

Scott Austin



How was Monahan?

Birman

reception 5-6

6-11:30 Fri evening

Ken - Centra

Woodward

Austin

Ray Bonner (organized printer)

Leslie Cockfield

Jonathan Keating

Walter Pines

Ladislav Bittman (Long March)

Operations

Ray Clinis

Hunt

Polgar

Saver

Forakerium (Head of R Transition
Team for CIA)

Hats?

Kwity

Cockley

In Hushley

John Prados?

2 hr. broken

Dwight & Cont Action

Prenton

Steve Pines

Bill Mith

Lee Hamilton?

Mart Halperin

Loch Johnson (Church Committee)
(Season of Aging
on Church Com)

Clark Clifford

Richard Falk

Norm Minster?

Cohn?

Ronald Fable:

Abolition of C4?

[MacMichael

Prevention

Count was: hoped to win peace because:

- planned that way
- smaller (than cost of war)
- dirty: assass, torture...
- aggression!
- US. low troop (Afghan)
- "dirty allies" (S. Africa... Somalia...)
- based on "perceptions" of threat,
with gov: first it
and of risk/costs/benefits, that
will not bear examination or discussion!
- "errors"

(moral, illegitimate)

US should not be at war secretly

Pers should not have shut to go to
war secretly ... For, to another gov

- it can't deny...
- in countries where open conflict
would not be supported
(not just, "would not
be effective")

NH H paper
on abolition of
count ops

Gates

on TG: What can't be done cheaply,
with count ops, can't be done
anymore either (see occupation....)

World has become "less hospitable to
hypothetical aspirations" — virtual ops
Haskell's, p. 90, attention

It is not only count possibility ops are (AKOIS)
oppose....

Strong uniform bureaucratic tendency to ^{avoid discussion of} ignore
moral/legal aspects: though latter is, toxicity, reason
for seeing!!

Tb does point to this — prejudicing opposite court
(like pointing to representative for action

Tendency for projects to escalate:

→ because they are under-funded,*

over-optimistic at start*;

that is how they are sold;

foot-in-the-door

internal commitment

[not a
commitment:
pressure
options

(willing to go up)

(at first not counting heads ^{as much, as might}

want the — external — "horses";

but forming a hidden commitment of

heads, understated by the,

by working the internal pressures

on the, the wife & analyses & sees

they get, the commitment to subordinate

(rep in eyes of subordinates)...

* [not because there costs & obstacles

are enforceable — either to bureaucratic

opponents / critics (but who can be bought off,

by log-rolling, or side deal for other reasons) or proponents
(even then)

Bar. would do almost anything
secretly, if it could (Weber)

In discussing, reason must be given
for secrecy: but since morality isn't
to be rational (em), other reasons
are needed

(though these would apply to
anything; but "she is feasible
for this, because it's small;
also, 'not at all' (?) effective,
counter-productive if not secret.)
(Portugal).

^{'substant'}
reason given for secrecy: "This is
illegal under the law - politically
'contradictory' and therefore
covering but that which is illegal even
here, not contradictory here - because impossible.

7-2
2-2
Daniel McMichael

3 Jan 88

Cohen - Boren Bill S1741

Clear Clifford - bill does not go for enough
no money if Pino does not verify
= 48 hrs

criminal penalties

see Nov 30 ^{NYT} of ^{the} Hamilton

"Court ops still possible"



44

Court ops

444

On Nov 27 Honduras denied access to
its territory if the verification team
for the Guatemala Accords.

H. had promised to disband the
bases — but "this is strictly linked" to
disarmament and human rights (in Nic.).
— simultaneously

DMaM

Landeros + El Sol (DM thinks) signed
the Accord on the assumption that
contra aid was ahead in Congress
- "so they could act on their own interests"


but now that contra aid is back,
they are backing off from this critical
agreement to deny facilities to the contras

The "spin" of Achin & the defector's
testimony — including NYT & Wash Post —
and on the 1500-man raid into Nicaragua

"Large SC-aided military buildup" (Steve Rosenfeld)

Econ sit is bad — and they had bad drought —
they rely on Brazil + Argentina for food...

Morales is like any leadership (Reinhardt —
disgusted with Obando.



Oppose count ability + paramilitary ops

Oppose contra aid

Full support for CA Peace Accord

(which calls for end to contra aid)

Bilateral issues between US + Nic:

us. my use of Nic for

SW base

Regional issues hints

Nic asks my for:

(with non-aggression pledge from US

Rick
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By Anna Pres PSR

22 Nov

Secret foreign policy (CA as part...)

[Can CA be cured, so long as public/State believes the secret foreign policy it serves, is right, necessary, and requires it (a, makes it "worth" it "worth")]

- FOACA retreat: How tell if someone is CA? (where?)

me? Shapiro? Cullison? Parish?

DBJ? Bennett's revelations?

to HBG ("You can't quit." she wouldn't let me define limits on the relationship. Her father "won't trust me"; "you won't fight." (13-year old for Christ's sake. Out of (my) control - ^{not friendship or love.} spent at O.

Memorandum (NYT today: Cullison lost right)

North et al as Nazis.

(Wendell Bitting. Read "Inside the Kremlin Hot Money")

- Constant crises (Kinoy)

Independent.

- Refusal to let H address Congress.

- Glasnost/CA: Note that even SU - over-democratized - keeps its foreign policy secret. (as does US).

Reaching (Willson; ICG; CA; White Rose CA)

(JF ^{London}, in Frank & Weisberg
cites me as if I had left
by 1968 - but had not waived my
objections.

No definite answer - question of
when to leave...)

I did look-in - a - way likely to be
removed

when I would still be paid for it
and promoted.

(Then others, never;

Tang, did Schles, Soc, Hilman *
from pros, or unemployment?

(Exposure of secrets, in context
of criticism or attack; or Pros?)

* he noted it - unwittingly?

Sunday morning
13 Dec 87

To VP Bush:

Who cleared Diego Posada...
for his job as deputy to Max Berg
in the Shapago operation, in charge of
logistics?

(Is there a person should be
indicted along with Posada — that
would include you, Sir.)

— What efforts have been made by
your Counter-Terrorism Unit
to approach + to Posada?

What would be a procedure whereby
 an employee in CIA could check
 his/her judgment that an order they
 had been given was ~~not~~ not
 he obeyed — was illegal
 reckless
 wrong

without bureaucratic retaliation,
 or ~~otherwise~~

i.e. without notation in career file
 of having done so;

without saying up of being
 "a subordinate who questions orders"
 (fixes the problem)

(or even, with this — but not by
 || fixed, or promoted (for security
 secrets).

So Congress? Courts? IG?

If impossible: "Do you trust CIA?"
 (as in "in SC?"). "Trust, but verify."

"You've just got to trust" "Cut the slack."
 (to be used?) Helms? EXPERIENCE

How often are accessories prosecuted
(or sued) for murder - like Crimes:
conspiring and illegal, dangerous orders?

Friedel? Perished?

Subordinates; supplies; knowledgeable

superiors? (like capture of ship

in Hong?

- Wend of Toshima quit
on sell to SU